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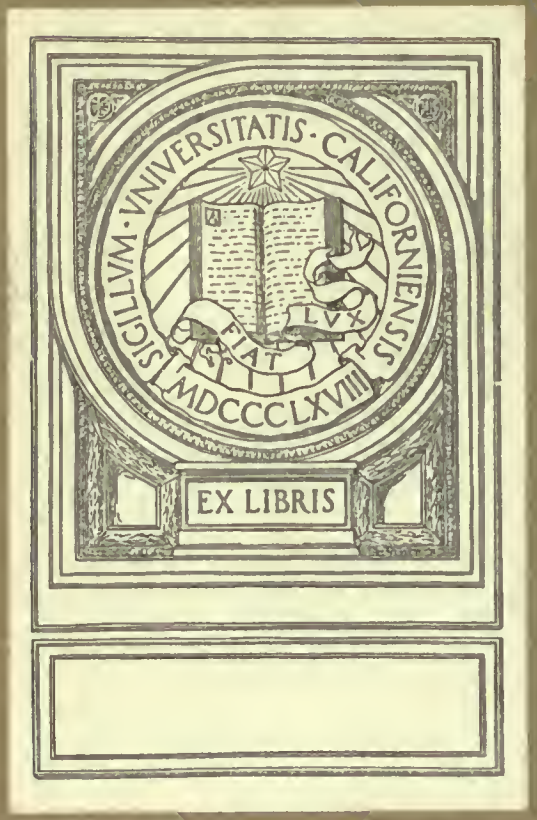
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EDITORIALS FROM "JUDGE."

BY THE HON. JAMES ARKELL.

MUST BRITANNIA RULE THE TARIFF?

John Bull.—"Sam, don't you know since you have spread out more on your plantation, and have put in so many improvements, and gotten some credit for putting down the rumpus of some of your tenants who proposed to divide the property and set up a separate ranch of their own, that you are getting a little stiff and airish? A little vain, too, over the smart reduction of your war mortgage, and the considerable income that you are not using."

Uncle Sam—"Perhaps. John, does it trouble you?"

J. B.—"No, not exactly troubles me; but do you think, Sam, it is quite neighborly and right for one member of the family to allow himself to be threatened with this dreadful fatty degeneracy of the pocket without asking advice for its removal?. I'll allow you have worked like Satan; see how thin you are, excepting that financial swelling. All that is needed for your solid prosperity is to go into the cheapest market, even if it be a foreign one, as you call it, for your wants."

U. Sam—"See here, John! You have grown pretty well off in trade and manufacturing. You never were much on farming, because you did not have land enough, or rather let a great lot of it lie waste for shooting and hunting ground. Your Christianity, so sadly helpful to Hindoostan and opiumized China, didn't go far enough to let your own poor have any of the spare game. While you preached nicely in the pulpit, you kept up just the same a strong picket against poaching. When you made your start in life, didn't you begin by constructing a tariff bigger than any since thought of? Wasn't that the way you coaxed the best carpet makers from Holland; the finest silk weavers from France, and started your potteries in Staffordshire with foreign workmen? You found coal and iron not far apart. They naturally were reasonably close together, or they wouldn't have been on the island. You struck copper and tin pretty plenty, and made the best of your luck. So altogether, with lots of labor, plenty of minerals, and a good stiff protection on your own industries, a desperate sharp taste for trade, ships more plenty than plows, and more sea than acres, Providence, a great love for number one, and some pluck, have made you prosperous. Barter has made you the world's banker, and a banker gets all the richer by putting out at interest other folks' money, and paying little or nothing for the deposit. John, when your hive began to swarm, some of the workers leaving of their own accord, and others pushed out because you made it too hot for them, you tried hard to fix it so that your colonies should gather honey for the old bees. You haven't forgotten our first difference? Thomas Jefferson wrote an open letter on the subject; the world read it and remembers it. You didn't then want us to sail a boat (don't think you do now), make a nail or build a factory, and demanded that from hat to shoe you should do the making and we the wearing. Furthermore, you tried to padlock our lips from making a protest. No wonder we revolutionized. In about twenty years you started another fuss, because our shipping business was growing unpleasant. Fifty years after that you took part in an underhand and cowardly way in our domestic dispute, and tried your best to break up the family. I don't taunt you of this; don't care about it now anyway; mention it only just to show that it kind o' modifies any great appreciation of the sincerity of your advice. You see, if you drive a nail in a piece of timber, no matter if it is pulled out again, the hole is still left. I don't know that I blame you for wanting to do the most of the trading. It is easier to stand behind the counter, and more profitable than walking in the furrow. It is all right, your preferring to run the factory and the furnace rather than the farm. You have been a pretty successful banker, and probably can't resist a hankering desire for our surplus. Of course it is a temptation, you never having had any surplus of your own. That which bothers me the most is that some of our folks are so credulous and short-sighted. It is queer that any one should want to go thirty-five hundred miles for metals and material we have in plenty and close by; that New York and Kentucky editors, a lot of lawyers or Texas ranchmen or plantation overseers, a few pulpit men or college professors, or a graduate in Buffalo politics, all of whom know little or nothing of practical affairs, should be

THE RED EMBLEM OF DEMOCRACY AND WHAT IT PROMISES FOR THE WORKINGMEN.

duped by your Jesuitical adroitness to follow your counsels. Let me read you this letter, just received from one of your own workmen. It tells its own story and needs no comment :

"'LONDON, ENGLAND, 186 Waterloo Road, March 28, 1888.

"'*Dear Sir*—Thanks for the papers you have sent me. I was in America for about two months last summer, sent over by our association to see for myself whether the working classes of your country were better off under protection than we are under free trade, and the conclusion I came to was this :

"'That any person who has to earn his living in America as a producer must become crazy before he becomes a freetrader, and the farmers must be the craziest of the whole lot to think of such a thing. Before any of your working men (either engaged in manufacturing or agriculture) talk about free trade let them send one of their number over here, to see what it is doing for this country. Let him walk about for six months looking for a job, until his coat gets ragged and his shoes get thin, and he gets thinnest of all, and everywhere he asks for work, he will be told that the Germans and the Belgians are doing the work cheaper than he can do it ; then let them send for him home again, and hear what he says about free trade.

"'If it is the surplus revenue that is causing the trouble, send it to some free-trade country. You never knew them to have a surplus. Or, if you don't like to do that, take it out to sea and sink it, or bury it, or burn it, or do anything, in fact, rather than adopt free trade—that is to say, if you do not want foreign competition to ruin your manufacturing industries, and by so doing ruin your farmers by robbing them of their home market.

"'Yours truly, H. J. POTTIFRE (Electro-plate worker),

"'Secretary Workman's Association for defence of British industry.'"

REVENUE AND TAXATION.

THERE are but two ways to procure the revenues necessary for the maintenance of the national government. One is to directly tax the farm land, personal property, city and village lots, and the little homesteads in the same way that state taxes are levied. The other is to collect on foreign importations a tariff, or what may be characterized as a "pedler's license," to be paid by the foreign salesman before hawking his wares. The latter is, in fact, a small cash compensation for the opportunities of the market. Partial free trade partially, and absolute free trade wholly, give a proportionate advantage to the European producer.

The domestic manufacturer pays home taxes on real estate, machinery and stock. Pays to the town, pays to the county, pays to the state, pays for the working of the roads, the maintenance of schools, the support of the courts of justice, and all the machinery of the government of the state. The free trader proposes wholly to donate, without charge or cost, our market advantages, not to a neighbor, whose prosperity and gain become a common benefit, but to a trader across the sea. He further proposes to sustain, without expense, courts of collection, and maintain law and order among the customers to whom he sells his untaxed goods. In this way free trade is an injustice. It lifts every burden from the profit-taker and places it all on the back of the buyer. Every mill or factory built here, every living house for the employee, every railroad (short or long) used to move the raw or made material, every open coal or iron mine, every furnace for smelting ore or fusing glass becomes and is a financial honey-cell filled by the workers for the sustenance of every member of the hive.

Is there any business sense or reason for us to give our advantages for a mere mess of theoretical Cobden-club pottage?

The necessities of the federal government call annually for over $326,000,000 for the payment of interest on the national debt, the payment of pensions, the maintenance of the navy, the support of our frontier army police, to pay the deficit of the postal service, and the vast yet necessary corps of government officials, and other incidental needs of care-taking of the interests of sixty millions of people. Thirty-five millions is about the annual income from the sale of public lands. The remainder ($292,000,000) is gathered, $120,000,000 from internal revenue tax on whisky, wines, beer and tobacco, and the balance on customs duties on the importations of foreign goods. We buy annually $211,000,000 worth of foreign products that pay no tariff tax or duty whatever. We buy $16,000,000 of taxless tea, $50,000,000 of taxless coffee, and $2,000,000 of taxless lumber in the log.

The Mills tariff reduction bill proposes to take the tariff off Canadian hay, sawed lumber, and Canadian wheat. It proposes to make wool free, and with a fanfaronade of Democratic love for the working man points, as an assurity of its care, to the cheaper coat, and cheaper carpet, made of foreign wool, on foreign looms. Yet of the $54,000,000 worth of woolen goods imported four-fifths are of a kind that the laboring man seldom buys. The working man averages, as his share of the federal tax, eight cents per person a year ; the balance, forty-seven cents, is paid by the more dudish consumer, per head.

THE DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE, JULY 4th, 1888.

The Unconditinnal Surrender of the Anglo-Maniac to John Bull.

The people of the United States pay a tariff annually of $50,000,000 on sugar. Sugar is not confined (like expensive wools and silks) to the using of a limited class. Every household is, in proportion to its number, a consumer. Due and honest regard for the resources of the limited wage-earner would call for the complete abolition of this tax, a tax that averages eighty-six cents each for every man, woman, and child in the country. Sugar, however, is a southern product, and needs Democratic protection. Wool is northern, and the farmer is again called, as in the days before the war, to give way to the planter.

Democracy dreams of a foreign market, contested for inch by inch by the cheap capital and cheaper labor of Europe. The policy of the Republican party proposes to make free only such products as we cannot raise or make. It proposes, before seeking a foreign market, to care for the nearer and more certain one at home, to keep active our own capital, and supply employment to our own labor.

IS THERE A SURPLUS?

If an individual had a mortgage on his estate for $150,000, fifty thousand dollars due in three years, and notes out for thirty-five thousand dollars on call, with one thousand dollars on deposit to meet the demand, and only that amount in available cash, would the one thousand dollars be regarded as a surplus? Add the necessary ciphers and that is the business position of the firm of Uncle Sam & Company. If the creditors holding the demand notes willingly carry them and have faith in the solvency of the firm, is the firm any the less in debt? Does the giving of another note in place of the one returned release the debtor? Does the renewal of a note pay a debt? Is not its reissue in every sense a banking process, the essence and spirit of which is to use other people's money without paying interest? It is a foolish financial infatuation that a people or a man can grow rich by filling his pockets with notes given to himself.

It is true that our national income is a little larger than our outlay. We must remember, however, we owe in greenbacks, payable on demand, three hundred and fifty million dollars. We have on hand to meet the possible call one hundred millions, leaving two hundred and fifty millions to be met (if ever intended to be redeemed) by our possible income.

Would it not be wise, if the surplus is a burden, to retire greenbacks enough, by paying them, to absorb it? Convert the first one hundred millions into certificates of cash instead of promises to pay, and turn the two hundred and fifty millions into the same as fast as the surplus of funds would allow. Or it may be wise to retire these evidences of indebtedness into two per cent. bonds for banking security, or certificates could be issued for the amount retired, representing without additional inflation the aggregation of silver coin.

It should be remembered that in 1891 a large amount of the four and a half per cent. bonds will begin to be due and payable. The surplus will then take care of itself. The fifteen hundred millions of indebtedness then commencing to be payable will prevent any disturbing accumulation. It is only the three years of financial spanning we have to provide for, and have we not gold and silver enough for the abutments of an honest bridging?

It is conceded that the issuance of the greenback was a forced war loan. It is believed by good and careful financiers that the continuance of a forced loan in times of peace is a political menace, liable to be abused by its control by legislative elasticity to dangerous purposes and ends. A gold certificate, or a silver certificate based on bullion held by the government as a security, is better than a promissory note. No legislation can create bullion. Legislative enactments, however, can make promises to pay. Would not this go far towards settling the silver muddle, and by the absorption of this metal as a basis of the redemption of its certificates so diminish its menacing abundance and enhance its competitive value, as against gold? In other words, the white metal (like the white race) would assert itself as superior to its yellow Mongolian kin.

The people of the United States have more dollars per head than any other. The purchasing power of a dollar is in proportion to its scarcity and the abundance of the material to be purchased. The purchasing power of a European equivalent of a dollar depends upon its comparative scantiness to the population. Where dollars are scare and labor

THE WORKMAN AND THE CAMEL—A FREE TRADE FABLE.

A Camel came to a workman's shop, and asked to be allowed to enter it for warmth. "No," said the workman, "there is not room for us both." "Well," pleaded the camel, "just let me put my head in." The workman assented. No sooner did the camel get its head in than it forced its whole body through, and drove the workman out into the cold.

plenty a few dollars command a large amount of work. Where labor is scarce it takes more dollars to command its service.

The present surplus, the first ever accumulated in the history of the world, and brought about by the Republican policy of paying a debt if you owe one, is, so far as it is a menace to public security, a political bug-a-boo and a financial ghost to frighten the superstitious. There can be no surplus when you owe more than you have and your debt is due.

LABOR AND PROTECTION.

In all political discussions much pulp surrounds the kernel of the question, a very bulk of amplitude and excessive in its abundance. This, perhaps by its very conspicuity, prevents absolute oversight of the vital principle it envelopes and is intended to shelter. The essence of a political proposition thus hidden in the ponderousness of discussion is like an apple, for an illustration, with its round red, waterproof jacket, its tightly-packed globe of crystals and juices, and its surrounding atmosphere of perfume; yet is all this snug packing of sunshine, all this alchemy of root and sap, this night and day chemistry of blossoms and leaves, waving their pearly and green fans in the selected air—is this solely for the toothsome pleasure of the eater? Partly, and partly only. This girth of nutrition is nature's protection wrapped around the seed, and the savior of its life. This sphere that rolls down the hillside to new ground is helped in its babyhood by this guardianship till it can feed on the coarser soil and has strength to struggle with surrounding and aggressive growth. Even the elm, robust and stalwart as it is, equips its progeny with leafy wings, and sends them off on the winds with little haversacks of food and a canteen of fluid to feed their earlier life. Nature everywhere and always gives the first lesson in protection, and inexorably executes the law that the weakest, or the least wary, must go to the wall. The farmer who fences his fields; the householder who guards his dooryard; the nation that fortifies its coast, are protectionists. Protection is selfishness. In the individual it is taking care of number one. In a government it is caring for millions of number ones. A competitive struggle of peoples is like a competitive struggle of persons. The largest amount of capital, combined with the largest amount of available labor, without the interposition of any construction (such as a tariff), will win. If a laborer without tools engages to move by the handful, for a certain sum, a given quantity of earth, he will fail as to time and compensation if he competes with one who has a wheelbarrow and a shovel. The tools are capital with labor; the bare hand is labor alone. European manufacturers have the double advantage of cheaper capital and cheaper labor. They are the John L. Sullivans who can challenge any contestant. England has been trained under a protective tariff for three hundred years, until its capital of brawn and its abundant muscle of plentiful workers enable it successfully to contend against any weakling. It should be remembered that all real values depend on labor. The scarcer the labor, or the better paid, the higher the cost of production. The pinch of cotton seed dropped in the soil is next to valueless. The many times cultivated plant costs labor; the picking is labor; the ginning out the seed is labor; the pressed bale is labor; the carload is labor—it goes over railroads built by labor and is pushed on rails the iron ore of which was worthless in the soil till worked and rolled by labor; the spun yarn is labor; the woven fabric and its ornamentation and transfer to market are all but steps of labor. So that from nothing, or near to nothing, labor wraps the valueless material around with increased worth. If all this labor be abject and poorly paid, so poorly paid that it is half starved and half clothed, these values are the less. The question for the American people is, Do we want such? Do we need such cheap woolens that they will shut our own factories and drive the sheep from the farms? Do we want a policy for the betterment of the European manufacturers, to the closing of our own mills, and by this closing turn into the already full ranks of labor such a surplusage of unemployed as will lower all along the line, and in almost every calling, the wages of other workers?

—WHY?—

AMERICAN WORKMAN (to John Bull)—"Mr. Bull, if Free Trade is such a blessing, why are your agricultural interests in such a wretched condition? Why do your manufacturers cry out for 'Fair Trade,' and why does your skilled English workman come to this Country INSTEAD OF THE AMERICAN WORKMAN GOING TO ENGLAND?"

THE TARIFF AND THE WORKER.

The first and final proposition for serious public discussion is not what may be of partisan advantage, Democratic or Republican, but what is for the national good. What policy is an American policy?

The citizen grown gray is apt to be reminiscent. The younger, jubilant with new blood and bearing no scars of previous experience, is hopeful and full of experiment. Any man who will raise his party banner higher than the national flag is not a patriot. Under the protection of a common law an act is not a crime unless it intentionally trespasses on the property or rights of another.

A public policy that narrows the opportunities, diminishes the chance, lessens the fair compensation of the worker, restricts the power of earning, closes the avenue of common comfort, and pauperizes, or tends to pauperize, the masses, is a policy that is un-American.

While all are moved by the latent or active stimulus of selfishness, the greatest good to the greatest number in the end is the wisest and only permanent rule. The measure of a nation's prosperity is the capacity of national consumption. The people who buy the most sugar, wear the largest amount of clothing, consume per person the largest amount of meat and breadstuff, show the ability of earning before purchase.

Three millions of the four millions of the negro race when held in slavery were fed on bacon and corn; now the seven millions of black workers are purchasers of meat, clothing and flour. Furthermore, the ability of the millions of those occupied in productive manufacturing pursuits to purchase is limited by their power to earn. When American wages by European competition bring our workers to European prices, the general prosperity will be proportionately narrowed. The man who earns fifty cents per day cannot spend a dollar, and the necessary European modes of living (meatless soups, cheap clothing and scant fare) will follow the narrow European compensation. Montana and Dakota will then miss their market for bread and beefsteak; that will follow in the trough of free trade. While unrestricted immigration is not an unqualified good, and while the congestion of the foreign element in our great cities supplies the majority of our criminals for punishment and paupers to be fed, the only limited benefit that could come of free trade and lowering of wages is that, bringing on both sides of the sea the daily earnings to one common level of lowness, the temptation of European exodus would be wanting. The influx of foreign capital has been for the bettering of its investment. The influx of foreign labor has been stimulated only by its expectance of increased compensation.

An eminent English statesman once cynically said, "The only service the Irish race ever rendered England was to emigrate to the United States and vote with the Democratic party in favor of British free trade."

THE TARIFF—OUR GOOD FRIEND JOHN BULL.

THE committee on the destruction of the tariff has at last rung up the curtain. The farce which is to be continued has just begun. Yet the patriotic posturing, the mimic wisdom, the kindly smiling on the south, protecting oranges to please Florida, sugar to keep Louisiana quiet, and giving free cotton wrap and bindage to the obstreperous Carolinas, and at the same time attempting an amorous leer toward Miss Columbia, are taken by the cynic audience for just their worth.

The free-trade procession, laden with gifts, begins to move. Liverpool comes first with a salver of free salt. Saginaw, Syracuse and Wyoming are waved to the background. Why should we not exchange our white dollars, which will never come back, for this cheaper dug salt, and let our own men lie idle, and our mines, thousands of feet thick, sleep untroubled below the ground? Here is Canada, with its hewn beams, sawed boards, and shaven shingles, offered a free market of sixty million consumers, for the coming, so that the lumbermen in Michigan and Maine, with "occupation gone," can go farming or fishing!

"Cheap John" Bull, loaded like a Vulcan, bearing in sheets of iron, sheets tinned and untinned, wrought by English labor, says with honest bluffness, as he dumps his burden, "This is the key to lock up your Pittsburg mills, and plug the new tin mines of Dakota." Then comes the chemist with glycerine, free glycerine, made from the fat of the waste carcasses of the Argentine republic, to displace that made here by

FREE (trade) LUNCH.

Grover Cleveland proposes to make Free Lunch of the American Workingman's Bread and Cheese, for the benefit of European Pauper Laborers.

the growers of American pork. Here is free beeswax to lessen the labor and profit of your aparians, and here is cement, of which it is true you have abundant quarries, that we will trade you for gold. Here comes the ranchman from the pampas of South America, bringing free wool. This, he says, may displace the fleeces you raise on the granges of the west and on your little farms. It may possibly cheapen your carpets, yet if by diminishing your flocks it raises the cost of your meat you are rich, and we want, with the help of our Democratic friends, to divide.

The procession keeps on. Each contributor brings larger and larger loads, lightened by the lowering of protective duties, and by their largeness adding to, instead of diminishing, the accumulation in the treasury.

The manager steps to the front, bows, and is received with boundless European applause. The importer throws up his hat, wild with hopes of profit. The Manchester man claps his cotton hands, and the Sheffield man clangs triumphantly his cymbals of iron, steel and brass.

Introduced by a wave of the presidential hand, John Bull steps to the footlights and thus briefly addresses the pit: "One hundred years ago, my children, you left me with painful abruptness. Let that pass. I have tried to convince you that, good farmers as you are, it is wrong, if not foolish, for you to attempt anything else. Two or three times my Democratic friends have also tried to convince you. They purpose to do it again. I can make, if not all, almost all you want. My laborers are many, and my work is cheap; your laborers are few, your work is too costly. My quarrels have been many and expensive. France had, you know, to be kept within bounds. Russia had to be checked and India suppressed. Ireland still troubles me. The royal family must be kept up at a cost of about three million dollars a year. It is a very large family and uncomfortably expensive. The aristocracy, while purely ornamental, is a luxury I still must indulge. Then there is my navy (Secretary Whitney has purchased some of my plans); my subsidies to my merchant marine are larger even than you ever gave to your continental roads, and my armies in Hindoostan, China, Canada and Egypt call for an outlay of hundreds of millions of dollars. These expenses are not, I know, of your making. Taxes bend the backs of my people. Help lift the load. I beg pardon for my first blunder, also for trying to coerce you in 1812. I regret that I endeavored with the piratical Alabama, and in various ways during your internecine trouble, to divide you. Just now, perhaps, I have been a little over-reaching in the Canadian fishery matter, and in fact I forgot you had any regard for your flag. This, however, was only a little matter of oversight—and trade. Now, stepping on your shores again, with the permission of another Democratic administration, which kindly patronizes my ships with your mails, and is also helping my Canadian Pacific railroad, I will conclude by saying, as did the Prince of Orange, when as William the Third he first landed on English soil, 'Mine vriends, I come for your good. I come for all your goods.'"

TARIFF AND SURPLUS.

It is self-evident to every considerate man that the administration hue and cry about the surplus is intended to be and is a cover for some ulterior purpose.

At any time during the present Congress the accumulations in the treasury would have ceased had the leaders of the majority so desired. Aside from taking the duties off alcohol used in the mechanic arts, and from domestic grown tobacco, giving a reduction of twenty-five millions, the lowering the tariff on sugar would decrease it thirty, and cancelling it over fifty millions additional. The poor man uses as much sugar as the rich. Wealth would not induce its owner to cram himself with sweets. The tariff taken off sugar alone would lessen a family's expenditure a dollar, where the tariff off wool would help it only a cent.

The Mills bill lowers the duty on Axminster carpets, and cancels it on statuary and on pictures, purchased by the wealthy and never by the workingman. It gives the Standard Oil Company and the great meat canning monopolies tin goods free, puts northern salt on the free list, and still protects Louisiana sugar sixty and Carolina rice one hundred per cent.

The purpose is not to diminish the revenue but to lower the tariff. Lessened duties stimulate importation tenfold, and will increase, as they have done, the income from customs. The surplus growing by this, instead of lessening, will call for still further and further reduction and successive progressive steps towards free trade.

HANDS OFF!

"*The Democratic Party is hastening to explain that it doesn't mean Free Trade.*"
THE COONS—"We nebber *did* care fo' chick'ns no how. We'se Reformahs; we is!"

The whole course of the administration has been a series of experiments and hedgings. The cant delusions of civil service were displaced by the acceptable demands of political heelers. The protective element of the Democratic party has been ordered to the rear. Its exponents have been humiliated, and its leaders degraded to the ranks. Mr. Randall—too honest to apostatize for the speakership—stands denounced and disgraced. Even a recruited Mugwump free trader, recently pollywogging himself with obsequious wriggling into the Democratic mud, is of more influence and weight.

For fifty years free trade has been a political faith and inspiration with an active section of the Democratic party. The cataclysm of the rebellion prevented its control. Now, with peace inertia, and forgetfulness, this faction growing dominant, the long hidden dynamite of its purposes menaces by its presence and its possible explosion. Parties cannot stand still. The repellent elements gain definiteness and strength and urge them further and wider apart. The protective policy and its opposite will contend to the extinguishment of one or the other. The destructive fire will win, or the protective water put it out.

It is unfortunate that such important questions of national policy should be submitted to a jury, largely unintelligent, and moved more largely by party allegiance and prejudice, while labor is standing idle, capital is waiting, industry is aghast and enterprise folds its hands for the verdict. The hazard is that specious and delusive pleadings, intentional warpings of the evidence by the administration attorneys, whose retention depends upon success, may win.

Yet it does not seem possible that the people of the United States can be forgetful that the tried Republican policy—not an experiment, but an experience—has given it so unequaled a prosperity. Notwithstanding war and debt, and personal and national expenditure, it stands peerless in wealth and vigor, and unparalleled among the nations of the world.

DEMOCRACY AND LABOR.

THE insincerity of the Democratic claim to lessen the load of the laboring man is well shown in its legislative policy. No family in the country, no matter how limited in resources, but is a consumer of sugar. Its use is universal. It pleases the palate and replenishes the muscular waste of sixty million people. Yet ninety-five pounds out of every hundred pounds is imported. The tariff nearly doubles its price. Reduce the duty, or make sugar free, and it would touch every tooth, stomach and pocket in the land. Sugar is an important item of expense to every laborer. It cannot (any more than salt) be more largely used by a wealthy than a working man. The partial or total abolition of the duty would help in far greater proportion the poorer than the prosperous man. Premier Mills, however, while weeping over the "Republican robbery of the poor," limits his philanthropy to tears. Free wool, as he looks northward, is of more importance, as he turns his eye on Democratic Louisiana, than free sugar.

Late and long as the session of Congress is, the senate will offer a substitute for the Mills bill, one that while reducing the revenue will not lower the wages of American workingmen, but will care equally for American employers and employees. If manufacturers, according to the Democratic theory, "grow so enormously rich," let it be American manufacturers rather than European. Wealth gained here stays here. It will build houses, endow schools, construct hospitals, be expended in improvements, invested in railroads, and in a hundred ways give wages for work. A thousand dollars earned and staying in the United States is better for us all than a thousand dollars transferred to the other side for the benefit of European labor.

The English manufacturers and mine owners are the wealthiest class in the world. Yet one out of every thirty-eight of the people of England is assisted by a poor-tax. The average capital per person is larger there than here, conclusively showing that the aggregation of wealth is in fewer hands.

It should be well considered that when ten dollars is expended for a suit of clothing of American wool, woven by American labor and constructed by American hands, even when the suit is worn out the ten dollars stays with something of the gift of metalliferous immortality, and passes from hand to hand, adding to the conserved wealth of the country. If the ten dollars be expended in making a purchase in a foreign land, when the garments are worn out the ten dollars also is gone—gone to that bourne whence no dollar ever returns.

BRINGING FREE TRADE TO THE FARMER'S DOOR.

The Mills Free Trade Bill includes Vegetables, Fruits, Potatoes, Hops, Flax and Wool.

AMERICAN FARMERS—"What shall *we* do? We cannot compete with European Cheap Labor." ENGLISH IMPORTER—"Go to Europe and Farm—or Starve!"

FREE TRADE IN PRACTICE.

It is an industrial fact that agricultural depression becomes national depression. The day of miraculous manna is past, and no sustenance can now be had for the picking. Labor is the only alchemist that changes soil into clothing, food, shelter, comfort and art.

This continent was rich only in raw material when the puritan immigrant landed at Plymouth Rock, and the English cavalier first rufiled the waters of the James River in Virginia. Every commercial palace in the great cities, every factory with its machinery, every line of rail, and every message-wire, every turned furrow, every shock of wheat, every sphere of cheese or incasement of butter, is labor crystalized into a new shape. The diversity of this force, its interchangeability from one shape to another, and its surplusage in exchange for other labor, have made this country a wonder to itself and the world.

Any industrial policy that eases the lines of labor and makes its every motion the more productive in beneficent results is a national good. If the free trade doctrine of abject foreign labor cost of goods be the best for the people, because the cheapest, then free trade is right and should be carried to its conclusion. Why mine iron at all? Why weave cotton as against cheaper competitive Manchester? Why not buy all our rails in Liverpool, evaporate all our salt on the English seaboard, import coal from Europe and Nova Scotia, take the tariff of two dollars per ton from Canadian hay, the fifteen cents from Canadian potatoes, the ten cents on barley, the twenty cents on wheat, the eight cents on hops, and the four cents on butter, and get our supplies where nature, below ground and above ground, is lavish and labor at the lowest? If the world on the outside is hungry, is it not humanity to throw down the protective fences that guard our fields of labor, and let the herd in, even if this philanthropy starves our own stock?

The greatest land-working peoples are the Russian and the Hindoo, yet they are the earth's paupers. Being the least proportionate home consumers, they are among the largest contributors to the grain markets of the world. Their scant industries with labor (low priced because so crowded, so cheaply fed, and more cheaply clothed) make their consumption of the fruits of the farm the very lightest.

If free wool cheapen the market for our fleece, and will (this is the theory) enable us to find a market for the woven wool, why is it this does not hold good of cotton? Cotton bears no tariff, and is of our own growth, yet where is the market for our looms, as against this same cotton carried across the sea to foreign mills, where, with their cheaper capital and cheaper workmen, it is returned here, over-riding the tariff and deluging our own market?

If free trade be good, the broader it is the better. Why not lessen our own mines, close our manufactories, increase the number of our farms, and make the American laborer the serf, not the self-selected laborer, of the world? This would be free trade to its ultimate. This would be the Democratic blizzard, so hopefully prayed for, that would exhaust us all.

THE DEMOCRATIC TARIFF TRAIN.

The renewal of the old Democratic dodge of tariff straddle is a failure. Mr. Cleveland's attacking protection on the plea that its reduction would cheapen the clothing of the workingman is of the same kind of cant and for the same personal purpose as were his pledges of reform to catch Republican votes. His late anxious contortions for continuance in office show these were, from the Democratic standpoint, "better kept in the breach than in the observance."

The proclaimed purpose of the party is announced by its honest and outspoken leaders as intended to reach as close as possible to free trade. This cannot be accomplished in a bound. Like a railroad train, it will halt at various points, change crews perhaps, oil up, stop, and start again and again until it reaches its destination. To continue the simile, the presidential conductor, burly with egotism, spangled with the brass buttons of the southern livery, rings it up for a momentary pause at Civil Service station, and then, hurrying off with a laugh at the gaping passengers left behind, calls out, "Next stop at Hypocrite depot; plenty of time for assessments." At Garland crossing the train takes in fuel and disgrace. At Bayard Fizzle and Chamberlain Gulch the English and Canadian crowd greet the arrival and cheer the departure. Rebel

THE TRANSFUSION OF BLOOD—A PROPOSED DANGEROUS EXPERIMENT.

THE DOCTORS (*to American Workingman*)—"It may save the patient but it is bound to weaken you, and if the experiment is a failure you are a dead man."
AMERICAN WORKINGMAN—"Then, gentlemen, I won't try it. Self-preservation is the first law of Nature!"

Flag curve is passed with anxiety; Veto valley trestle, bending a little under the strain, is safely stiffened with fresh confederate shoring. Passengers are required to show Democratic tickets, properly purchased and indorsed, or get off. The Cobdenite newsboy distributes English advice to American voters on the delights of free trade, and also peddles pictures of the beautiful parlor the British spider has fitted for the fly.

Altogether it is an ideal Democratic train; half drawing-room coaches for the planters, and half emigrant for the voters. A free-trade engine in front, and a danger flag of red bandana fastened to the rear. Occasional stops at flag stations, at Harper's mud swamp to take on a resident from Curtis crossing, and one at George Jones's Flats, relieve the obfuscation of travel. These illustrious additions are quickly urged to the buffet car, and accorded complimentary seats with the "not-now" very hungry or very thirsty party. Passengers exchange congratulations on the wonderful speed attained, ignorant that it is a down-grade and that gravity as well as the engine is pulling.

The brief, but menacing sadness, bred of the rumor that the noble conductor, on account of "previous pledges," would leave them on reaching Four Year Point, was happily dispelled. That self-oblivious official having intimated a desire to be still led into temptation and suffer a farther martyrdom of personal and moral sacrifices, a convention of his train appointees and brakemen was promptly organized in the baggage-car.

Laudatory resolutions were framed emphasizing that the road, rail and ballast were nothing, the engine was nothing, the passengers were nothing, the country in fact was nothing, if he declined to guide. These expressions of confidence were presented with appropriate obsequiousness on a red, but old, pocket-handkerchief, glorious with the association of having been unfurled where, years ago, traitorous crowds greeted it as its holder waved it in denunciation of the attempt to suppress treason, in vociferating that the war was wicked and a failure, resumption was a farce, and protection was a robbery.

The noble conductor, bending to this pressure, and abstemiously alluding to himself in response but fifty times, and incidentally to the party and country once or twice, acknowledged and bowed to the coercive force. He expressed himself as willing to suffer for fifty thousand dollars a year, and the convenience of a state-room, to take the train through English valley, and over the Canadian Pacific to Eight Years' junction—mugwump assistance, Democratic political pull, and next November permitting. He did not know, he said, until he had charge of this train, the dreadful condition of the national road. Living along side it for twenty-eight years, an idle and indifferent spectator, he had simply noted the widening and lengthening of the track, had seen its bridges burnt, tunnels blocked, and the confederate attempts to undermine it; had in fact seen its guards shot, but had no idea until now how much oil had been wasted and how heedlessly the engineer had handled the fuel.

The public demanded, he said, that these factories of cotton and wool, and iron and steel that shaded the track, and whose offensive workmen scoffed at the train, should be removed. He would see to it. He had arranged through Secretary Whitney for thirty thousand dollars' worth of English drawings to construct connecting ferry-boats. He was determined to earn public confidence by vetoing all demands of disabled employees and reducing the cost of the wool used in signal flags, and would give personal examination of each linch-pin and a personal hammering on the wheels.

Selected now for the sole purpose of lessening public expense, he hoped in the intervals of public labor to devote his spare time to the growth of potatoes to supply the white house. These lofty utterances of modesty mixed with Jeffersonian simplicity won the applause of every postal clerk—and Mr. Cleveland was lauded as the largest statesman of the age.

THE QUACK (JOHN) BULL-FROG.

A Bull-Frog came out of a Poverty labor marsh, and gave out to all the Animals that he was a great Physician and could heal all manner of diseases. "Then," said the Elephant, "why don't you cure your own blotched and diseased skin?"

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH OF THE HON. WILLIAM McKINLEY, JR., IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MAY 18, 1888.

WHAT IS A PROTECTIVE TARIFF?

WHAT is a protective tariff? It is a tariff upon foreign imports so adjusted as to secure the necessary revenue, and judiciously imposed upon those foreign products the like of which are produced at home or the like of which we are capable of producing at home. [Applause.] It imposes the duty upon the competing foreign product; it makes it bear the burden or duty, and, as far as possible, luxuries only excepted, permits the non-competing foreign product to come in free of duty. Articles of common use, comfort and necessity, which we cannot produce here, it sends to the people untaxed and free from custom-house exactions. [Applause.] Tea, coffee, spices and drugs are such articles, and under our system are upon the free-list. It says to our foreign competitor, if you want to bring your merchandise here, your farm products here, your coal and iron ore, your wool, your salt, your pottery, your glass, your cottons and woolens, and sell alongside of our producers in our markets, we will make your product bear a duty; in effect, pay for the privilege of doing it. [Applause on the Republican side.] Our kind of tariff makes the competing foreign article carry the burden, draw the load, supply the revenue; and in performing this essential office it encourages at the same time our own industries and protects our own people in their chosen employments. [Applause.] That is the mission and purpose of a protective tariff. That is what we mean to maintain, and any measure which will destroy it we shall firmly resist, and if beaten on this floor we will appeal from your decision to the people, before whom parties and policies must at last be tried. [Applause.] We have free trade among oursèlves throughout thirty-eight States and the Territories and among sixty millions of people. Absolute freedom of exchange within our own borders and among our own citizens is the law of the Republic. Reasonable taxation and restraint upon those without is the dictate of enlightened patriotism and the doctrine of the Republican party. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Free foreign trade admits the foreigner to equal privileges with our own citizens. It invites the product of foreign cheap labor to this market in competition with the domestic product, representing higher and better paid labor. It results in giving our money, our manufactures and our markets to other nations, to the injury of our labor, our tradespeople and our farmers. Protection keeps money, markets and manufactures at home for the benefit of our own people.

THE BILL WILL NOT REDUCE THE REVENUE.

Now, Mr. Chairman, this is a bill ostensibly to reduce the revenue. It will not do it. Take from this bill its internal-revenue features, its reduction of twenty-four and a half million dollars from tobacco and from special licenses to dealers in spirits and tobacco, eliminate these from the bill and you will not secure a dollar of reduction to the Treasury under its operation. Your $27,000,000 of proposed reduction by the free-list will be more than offset by the increased revenues which shall come from your lower duties; and I venture the prediction here to-day that if this bill should become a law, at the end of the fiscal year 1889 the dutiable list under it will carry more money into the Treasury than is carried into the Treasury under the present law, because with every reduction of duties upon foreign imports you stimulate and increase foreign importations; and to the extent that you increase foreign importations, to that extent you increase the revenue.

The farmer, the manufacturer, the laborer, the tradesman, and the producer and the consumer all have a common interest in the maintenance of a protective tariff. All are alike and equally favored by the system which you seek to overthrow. It is a national system, broad and universal in its application; if otherwise it should be abandoned. It cannot be invoked for one section or one interest to the exclusion of others. It must be general in its application within the contemplation of the principle upon which the system is founded. We have been living under it for twenty-seven continuous years, and it can be asserted with confidence that no country in the world has achieved such industrial advancement, and such marvelous progress in art, science, and civilization as ours. Tested by its results, it has surpassed all other revenue systems.

From 1789 to 1888, a period of ninety-nine years, there have been

NO CAT'S-PAW.

MONKEY—"Just lend me your paw, to get these chestnuts off the fire."
CAT—"I'm not that kind of kitten."

forty-seven years when a Democratic revenue tariff policy has prevailed, and fifty-two years under the protective policy, and it is a noteworthy fact that the most progressive and prosperous periods of our history in every department of human effort and material development were during the fifty-two years when the protective party was in control and protective tariffs were maintained; and the most disastrous years—years of want and wretchedness, ruin and retrogression, eventuating in insufficient revenues and shattered credits, individual and national, were during the free trade or revenue tariff eras of our history. No man living who passed through any of the latter periods but would dread their return, and would flee from them as he would escape from fire and pestilence; and I believe the party which promotes their return will merit and receive popular condemnation. What is the trouble with our present condition? No country can point to greater prosperity or more enduring evidences of substantial progress among all the people. Too much money is being collected, it is said. We say stop it; not by indiscriminate and vicious legislation, but by simple business methods. Do it on simple, practical lines and we will help you. Buy up the bonds, objectionable as it may be, and pay the nation's debt, if you cannot reduce taxation. You could have done this long ago. Nobody is chargeable for the failure and delay but your own Administration.

Sir Edward Sullivan, in a recent article in the London *Post*, makes the suggestive comparisons, which I beg every gentleman to hear:

> Under free trade the masses must get poorer, because they get less employment. A well-known statistical work gives a comparison of the material progress of France under protection and England under free trade. If there is any truth in figures it ought to startle us from our free-trade dream.
>
> The comparison is based on the returns of legacy duty:
>
> In 1826 England was 10*s.* a head richer than France.
>
> In 1850 England was 19*s.* a head richer than France.
>
> In 1877 England was 5*s.* a head poorer than France.
>
> France has 57 per cent. of her land under tillage, and it is increasing every year.
>
> The United Kingdom has 30 per cent. of her land under tillage, and it is diminishing every year, but the population of England increases much more rapidly than the population of France.
>
> The commerce of England has increased 21 per cent. in ten years.
>
> The commerce of France has increased 39 per cent. in ten years.
>
> The commerce of the United State has increased 68 per cent. in ten years.
>
> The commerce of the world has increased 26 per cent. in ten years.
>
> So much for the blasting effect of free trade.

Mr. Dunn is a prominent member of this House and chairman of one of its leading committees, and I remember to have heard him say what I now read from the *Record:*

> The wheat producer of the Northwest is standing face to face with the wheat producer of India. A few years ago India shipped 40,000 bushels of wheat. Last year (1885) she put into the market 40,000,000 bushels. Can you protect the Northwest farmer against that labor? India can put wheat down in the markets of consumption in Europe cheaper than we can transport it from the fields of production to the markets of consumption—that is to say, India can produce and market her wheat in Europe for what it costs the farmer of the Northwest to transport his to the market of consumption, without allowing him for the cost of production. In other words, the transportation of wheat costs the American farmer as much as both transportation and production cost the India farmer.

In the face of a statement like this, from such high Democratic authority, how, I ask, is the wheat of the American farmer to reach the European market with any profit to our producers? And yet it is to this kind of competition the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee invites the American farmer. Do the farmers want such a market with such a competition? What their answer will be no man can doubt. They reject with indignation and scorn the chairman's invitation. [Applause.] The home market is the best, besides being the safest. It has got the most money to spend and spends the most. It consumes the most; it is therefore the most profitable.

The masses of our people live better than any people in the world. Great Britain only buys our food products when she has not enough of her own and can reach no other supply. This market, therefore, is fitful and fluctuating, and cannot be relied upon as we can rely upon our own consumers. The foreign market under a revenue tariff for agricultural products has not been encouraging in our own experience in the past. It promises less under such a system in the future. The effect of this bill, and there can be no other, is to increase importations, displace our own products by foreign ones, diminish the output of our factories and mills, curtail the demand for labor, and reduce the wages of those who may be able to get work. This result is as clear and manifest to me as the simplest mathematical problem, and we have only to look

THE MODERN EXODUS FROM THE LAND OF FREE TRADE BONDAGE TO THE LAND OF PROTECTION AND PLENTY.

"Last year the arrivals of Immigrants reached the enormous agegregate of **450,845**, *and this year's immigration will be over* ***Half a Million.***"—*N. Y. Sun.*

Moses (*Uncle Sam*)—"Why, O Pharaoh, are your hosts migrating to my Protection land if the Free Trade which your country enjoys is such a blessing?"

at the wage scale of competing nations to know what our labor will come to with free trade or its equivalent. We cannot compete with foreign nations without the restraint of a tariff unless we have equal conditions and equal labor cost. To do this we must introduce European conditions and European methods in the United States, and that is what this bill and all similar legislation mean.

AMERICAN WAGES AGAINST EUROPEAN WAGES.

There has been much effort made in this debate to show that, after all, American workingmen get no better pay than the workingmen of other countries. Let us consider this branch of the discussion for a little while, for if it be true that labor here is no better rewarded than elsewhere, then the strength of protection is much weakened. I beg to cite, against the unsupported statements of the gentlemen who have already spoken upon the other side, the testimony of American workingmen whose opportunity for information from experience in both countries, and otherwise, makes their evidence incontrovertible. From the statements made March 10, 1886, before the Committee on Ways and Means, I read. Some of this testimony is two years old, but the only reason it is is because laboring men were not permitted to testify this year. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Philip Hagan, spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: I was born under a free-trade government, and I believe that the free-trade government deprived me of an education. The reason of that was that I had to go to work when I was eight years of age; and I remember also my little brother going to work under that free-trade government when he was eight years of age. I remember well when there was a family of nine of us (including my father and mother), and when my wages for working in a mill were 10 cents per day. This was under a free-trade government. Subsequently I went up higher there to 5 shillings a day, or $1.25. That was about the limit I could reach—six and sixpence a day—and having to pay 60 cents out of that to my helper.

Many members of this committee know all this just as well as I am stating it, and I am not going to detain you any longer; but I will state that as soon as my limited knowledge informed me that labor was protected in the United States I came here. I declared my intentions and I became a citizen of the United States. And now I have a family, and now I make regularly 14 shillings a day. The produce on which I lived in England came mostly from the United States, and certainly I ought to get it as cheap here as in England. I worked for 5 shillings a day in England, and I get 14 shillings a day here. Consequently I am able to send my children to school, and they are getting an education, which their father did not get under a free-trade government. I want to see these children raised up and educated as citizens.

[Applause.]

Mr. Thomas Williams said:

As American citizens we can not be compelled to subsist upon what the working people of England, France, or other European countries subsist upon. The people of this country have made it just what it is, and in a very great measure the workingmen have made it what it is. Some of us have come across the Atlantic, leaving the land of our birth, and have come here with the expectation that we were going to better our condition. We have bettered it in a great measure. We will get along if you will let us alone. The manufacturers and ourselves will fight our own battles.

Mr. Thomas P. Jones said:

I came to this country to better my condition, and I am happy to say that I have bettered my condition. I have made more wages than I ever made in the old country.

It has been shown here to-day, and, as I think, very clearly, that this tinkering with the tariff is not for the best interests of the country; is not for the best interests of the wealth producers, of the men who built up this country. Then, gentlemen, I take it that it is your duty throw this bill to the dogs. I certainly do not stand to dictate to you altogether in this matter, but I will assure you this far; that there is a school of education among the working people in this country, and that if this tinkering with the tariff is allowed to proceed, if you will, in spite of our remonstrances, go on destroying our interests and shutting up the industries of the country, our working people will be ere long sufficiently educated to step forth and say, "Gentlemen, thus far shall you go and no farther." We will elect men and send them here to legislate for our interests if you will not do so. We have the power, gentlemen, and you know it.

Laborers in this country were never so cemented as they are to-day. One of the principal things which has helped us to that is this very bill which the honorable chairman has brought before this committee. Where I live, in Chicago, you would be surprised to see the feeling that exists among the working classes. And why? Because some of the people there worked in this country in free-trade times. I have a brother-in-law who, in free-trade times, traveled to his work six miles in the morning, getting there at sun-up, worked all day, and walked home at sundown, and all for a paltry 50 cents a day. I also have worked for 50 cents a day, but not in this country, thank God. I have worked for 25 cents a day, but I do not want to have to do it again. I have seen in the city of Glasgow, in Scotland, men working for 12 cents a day and a bowl of soup. That does not become an American citizen. We can not have such a state of affairs here, and we will not have it.

BROKEN LOOSE!

Suggested by Harper's Weekly.

LABOR NOT ASKING FOR IT—CHEAP CLOTHING.

It is a fact worthy to call to the attention of the House that a labor organization representing a million workingmen, with its representatives in this city whose sole duty is to look after the interests of labor, have given no sign of approval of this bill. Not a petition has come through this source asking for its passage, or anything like it. Whatever utterance has been made has been in opposition and protest. Every member on this floor has observed the activity of this committee of Knights of Labor in regard to legislation affecting the interests of labor, but in all their vast constituency, found in every State of the Union, found in the fields, in the factories, workshops, and mines, no word or sign but of disapproval and condemnation has come.

The expectations of cheaper clothes is not sufficient to justify the action of the majority. This is too narrow for a national issue. Nobody, so far as I have learned, has expressed dissatisfaction with the present price of clothing. It is a political objection; it is a party slogan. Certainly nobody is unhappy over the cost of clothing except those who are amply able to pay even a higher price than is now exacted. And besides, if this bill should pass, and the effect would be (as it inevitably must be) to destroy our domestic manufactories, the era of low prices would vanish, and the foreign manufacturer would compel the American consumer to pay higher prices than he has been accustomed to pay under "the robber tariff," so called.

Mr. Chairman, I represent a district comprising some 200,000 people, a large majority of the voters in the district being workingmen. I have represented them for a good many years, and I have never had a complaint from one of them that their clothes were too high. Have you? [Applause on the Republican side.] Has any gentleman on this floor met with such complaint in his district?

Mr. Morse—They did not buy them of me.

Mr. McKinley—No! Let us see; if they had bought of the gentleman from Massachusetts it would have made no difference, and there could have been no complaint. Let us examine the matter.

[Mr. McKinley here produced a bundle containing a suit of clothes, which he opened and displayed amid great laughter and applause.]

Come now, will the gentleman from Massachusetts know his own goods? [Renewed laughter.] We recall, Mr. Chairman, that the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means talked about the laboring man who worked for ten days at a dollar a day; and then went with his ten dollars wages to buy a suit of clothes. It is the old story. It is found in the works of Adam Smith. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.] I have heard it in this House for ten years past. It has served many a free trader. It is the old story, I repeat, of the man who gets a dollar a day for his wages, and having worked for the ten days goes to buy his suit of clothes. He believes he can buy it for just $10; but the "robber manufacturers" have been to Congress, and have got 100 per cent. put upon the goods in the shape of a tariff, and the suit of clothes he finds can not be bought for $10, but he is asked $20 for it; and so he has got to go back to ten days more of sweat; ten days more of toil; ten days more of wear and tear of muscle and brain to earn the $10 to purchase the suit of clothes. Then the chairman gravely asks, is not ten days entirely annihilated?

Now, a gentleman who read that speech or heard it was so touched by the pathetic story that he looked into it and sent me a suit of clothes identical with that described by the gentleman from Texas, and he sends me also the bill for it, and here is the entire suit, "robber tariffs and taxes and all" have been added, and the retail cost is what? Just $10. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.] So the poor fellow does not have to go back to work ten days more to get that suit of clothes. He takes the suit with him and pays for it just $10. [Applause.]

But in order that there might be no mistake about it, knowing the honor and honesty of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Morse], he went to his store and bought the suit. [Laughter and cheers on the Republican side.] I hold in my hand the bill.

Mr. Strable—Read it.

Mr. McKinley—(reading):

BOSTON, *May* 4, 1888.

J. D. Williams, bought of Leopold Morse & Co., men's youth's, and boys' clothing; 131 to 137 Washington street, corner Brattle—

I believe it is.

JOHN BULL FINDS HIS MOSES.

John Bull—"Ah! This is the Moses that will open the American Land of Milk and Honey to the products of my Pauper Labor!"

Mr. Morse—Yes, Brattle.

Mr. McKinley—(reading):

To one suit of woolen clothes, $10. Paid.

[Renewed laughter and applause.]

And now, Mr. Chairman, I never knew of a gentleman engaged in this business who sold his clothes without a profit. [Laughter.] And there is the same $10 suit described by the gentleman from Texas that can be bought in the city of Boston, can be bought in Philadelphia, in New York, in Chicago, in Pittsburgh, anywhere throughout the country at $10 retail the whole suit—coat, pants and vest—and 40 per cent. less than it could have been bought in 1860 under your low tariff and low wages of that period. [Great applause.]

THE UNITED STATES BUYING FOREIGN BLANKETS.

On the 25th of March, 1887, the United States Government advertised for bids for the purchase of blankets for the use of the medical department of the army. This was in 1887, under the present administration. There were foreign bids and there were American bids. Now, if the President is right in saying that the duty is added to the cost, then the foreign cost, duty added, ought to be just equal to the American price. Now, what are the facts of this transaction? As I have said, there was a foreign bid, and there was an American bid. The foreign bid was for a four-pound blanket for medical purposes, to be furnished for $2.25\frac{5}{16}$. For the same four-pound blanket for the same purposes, the American bid was $2.56, there being a difference of $30\frac{5}{16}$ cents. Who do you suppose got the contract? There was a foreign bid, and an American bid, and the difference between the bids was 30 cents on each blanket. Now tell me which manufacturer, the American or English, got the contract? Is there anybody here who would not have given it to the American, there being a difference of only 30 cents between the bids?

Is there any gentleman on this floor who would send abroad to get a pair of blankets merely to save 30 cents on them, thus taking away from the American manufacturer and the American farmer and the American laborer that much business? However that may be, that contract did go abroad. English labor, with foreign wool, made those 2000 blankets for the use of our army. American labor was boycotted and they came in without paying any duty. The Government took advantage of a law that stands on the statute book and admitted them free of duty. There being so little revenue in the Treasury, it was necessary, of course, to save every penny, so they took advantage of that law which permits the United States to bring in goods free of duty.

Mr. Chairman, I wish that this Government of ours, which is supported by its own people, and not by foreigners, would patronize its own people. I think that is an example of patriotism which should be set by those charged with public administration. I wish the men who pay the taxes to support this Government, to pay the President's salary and other expenses of the Government, would be patronized when the Government has anything to buy, don't you? And are you not a little ashamed of this transaction, all of you? I do not know whether the like was ever done under any former administration or not; but it never ought to be done, except in time of war or great public necessity, by any future administration of any party. [Applause on the Republican side.]

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH OF THE HON. THOMAS B. REED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MAY 19, 1888.

Now let us turn to the other side. The system we believe in is called protection, and is founded upon the doctrine that a great nation like ours, having all varieties of climate and soil, will be richer, more independent, and more thrifty, and that its people will be better fitted to enjoy the comforts and luxuries of peace, and better situated to endure the calamities of war, if its own people supply its own wants.

I do not purpose to defend protection. Its vast growth within the last quarter of a century defends it better even than eloquent orations. It was born with the Republic. It is the faith and practice of every civilized nation under the sun save one. It has survived the assaults of all the professors of the "dismal science" called political economy. It

COMPARATIVE WAGES.

	ENGLAND.	UNITED STATES.
Boilermakers	$7 75	$16 50
Brickmakers	3 54	11 86
Bricklayers	8 00	21 00
Blacksmiths	6 00	13 30
Butchers	6 00	12 00
Bakers	6 25	12 75
Boltmakers	6 50	16 50
Bolt cutters	3 00	10 00
Carpenters	7 50	15 00
Coopers	6 00	13 25
Clockmakers	7 00	18 00
Cabinetmakers	7 00	18 00
Iron ore miners	5 50	12 00
Iron moulders	7 50	15 00
Laborers	4 10	8 00
Longshoremen	8 00	15 00
Linen thread (men)	5 00	7 50
Machinists	8 50	18 00
Masons	8 00	21 00
Printers (1,000 ems)	20	40
Printers, week hands	6 65	13 40
Painters	7 50	15 00
Plumbers	8 00	18 00
Plasterers	7 50	21 00
Potters	8 67	18 30
Polishers	7 00	18 00
Railway engineers	10 00	21 00
Boilermakers	7 00	14 00
Machinists	7 00	14 15
Servants (month)	5 00	15 00
Shoemakers	6 00	12 00
Watchmakers	8 00	18 00

BEFORE and AFTER taking.

"I have used the Free Trade Mixture, and the condition of my workingmen has been completely changed.
"They are now enjoying a condition of degradation, poverty and misery. I can highly recommend it to Americans."

JOHN BULL.

has stood up against all the half knowledge of learned men who never had sense enough to transmute their learning into wisdom. (Great applause.)

On the face of the earth to-day there are but two sets of people who believe in free trade, whether pure and simple or disguised as revenue reform, and those two are the masked majority of the Committee on Ways and Means and their followers and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with Ireland suppressed.

Russia, the granary of Europe, has abandoned free trade, with the striking result that whereas in 1876, before the duties were raised, she bought 8,000,000 hundred-weight of British metals and paid therefor $30,000,000 (eight for thirty), she got the same quantity in 1884 and paid only $17,000,000 for it (eight for seventeen). Three dollars and seventy-five cents per hundred-weight before tariff, and $2.12½ after. Austria, Germany, Italy, Mexico and the Dominion of Canada, that child of Britain herself, have all joined the army of protection. It is the instinct of humanity against the assumptions of book men. It is the wisdom of the race against the wisdom of the few.

Perhaps now would be a good time to introduce the chairman's yard of cassimere. I hate to invite this respectable audience into even this small Sahara of figures; but really there are oases in it. In the original it is one line and a half, specimen of a whole column. Here it is:

"One yard of cassimere, weighing 16 ounces, costs 138 cents; the labor cost is 29 cents; the tariff is 80 cents." Borrowing from the rest of the column he means, as you will see it if you read it, "You pretend, you manufacturers, that you want a tariff for the laborer, and here you are, 29 cents to the laborer, and 80 cents tariff; 51 cents into your infamous pockets."

This is certainly bad. I do not remember ever seeing such a startling exposure of cold blooded villainy. Why, a robber baron of the middle ages, dead and buried 500 years ago, with nothing left of him but his coffin, would rise at such a charge and hurl back his indignant contempt as if he had been a Kentucky member charged with refusing hearings on midnight revenue reform. But let us repress our feelings. May be that this news is like the news we used to get from Texas during the war, "Important if true." And it is not true. A yard of cassimere selling at 138 cents, weighing 16 ounces, and paying 80 cents tariff, is an impossibility. Just permit me to prove it.

First you take off 27 cents discount for selling. This includes all other incidentals. That leaves $1.11. Take off 80 cents, the alleged tariff. That leaves 31 cents. That is cost. You see I am liberal. No extras there. Now if 31 cents is the cost and the goods are invoiced honestly—you see, I am again liberal—what is the duty? It will be largest under the woolen schedule. Therefore we will take that. It can only be 35 cents a pound and 35 per cent. ad valorem. The 35 cents is compensatory for the wool duty paid by the manufacturer. The 35 cents is 35 cents. Add 35 per cent. of 31 cents—10.85 cents—and you have 45.85 cents, which must be your tariff. But 45.85 cents added to 31 cents cost and 27 cents for selling gives only 103.85 cents instead of 138 cents, which shows that the sum doesn't prove.

Now listen to what the rate must be: 138 cents is the agreed price, 27 cents off for selling leaves 111. Now, the fixed specific tariff on a pound of cassimere is 35 cents. Take that out and there remains 76 cents for cost and ad valorem duty at 35 per cent. In other words, 76 cents is 135 per cent. of the cost. Therefore the cost is 56.29 cents, and the ad valorem tariff is 19.71, which, added to the 35 cents specific, is 54.71 cents. Adding them all together, you have 138 cents. This proves. Now let us see what ratio this bears to the rest of the calculation of the learned chairman. Eighty cents tariff, taking out 29 for labor, gave the heartless manufacturer 51 cents; 54.71 cents will only leave him 25.71.

Can he get away with that? How lucky he would be if he could. Out of that he has got to pay just 35 cents to the woolman, tariff on his wool. In fact, the 35 cents a pound in the tariff is put there for that very purpose. So, according to the chairman's theory, this poor robber baron has got to put his hands into his own pockets and pay 9.29 cents for his own money besides what he gets from the tariff. Really any intelligent robber baron would go back to the Middle Ages, where he certainly had no such luck. [Laughter and applause.]

Of course these figures are of no real earthly value except to prove the absurdity of a line and a half specimen of the chairman's speech. He started out grandly. Go to, he said; I will pay this man's labor and

—ON DECK!—

Jim—"Come to report, General. With fighting to be done for the old flag, I could not stay away."

show he pockets 51 cents a yard besides, all out of the tariff. The chairman does not realize that 51 cents a yard profit on cassimere is a colossal preposterousness. He does not have even a suspicion of it.

Why have I spent so much time on this wretched little yard of cassimere? Simply because it is a sample of a whole column which has been put forward here as the finest result of the free trade intellect; and there are eighteen more just such palterings with common sense.

But if the revenue reform orator on the monopoly is terrible, like an army with banners, there is a theme on which he can take up the notes of the dying swan. How we do love to hear him on the impoverished farmer! Then he is not sublime, but he is pathetically great. I heard him first ten years ago. To me—innocent, untraveled—it seemed as if the Western farmer was the most woe-begone, downtrodden, luckless, unsuccessful, dispirited devil on the face of the earth. The Eastern vampire had mortgaged his farm and thrown down his fences and scattered his substance wantonly to the winds.

In the fulness of time I traveled West myself. You may well imagine my astonishment, who had never seen ten acres together in corn, to behold fields of that great staple stretching way out to the horizon's edge, to see tracts of land which seemed to have no boundaries but the visible sky—land so rich that if we had an acre of it in Maine we would have sold it by the bushel [laughter]; while on every side were the great brick houses, such as only the squire lived in in our villages. After some days of this I became sulky. I said, gentlemen, of course we have robbed you; your Congressmen would not lie about trifles like that. But what disgusts me is that we did not do it more thoroughly. The gleaning looks bigger than the harvest. These crumbs are finer than the food we put on our tables. Then they confided to me that the Western Congressmen were great orators, and did this for practice. [Laughter.] Since then I have not been so much moved by it.

Here is another unshotted gun, called "the markets of the world." The markets of the world! How broad and cool these words are! They stretch from the frozen regions of the northern pole across the blazing tropics to the ice-bound shores of the Antarctic continent. All this we can have if we will but give up the little handbreadth called the United States of America. What are these markets of the world?

To hear these rhetoricians declaim, you would imagine the markets of the world a vast vacuum, waiting till now for American goods to break through, rush in and fill the yearning void. Will your goods go to Austria, to Italy, Germany, Russia or France? Around all these benighted countries are the "Chinese" walls of tariff taxes. Britain herself is protected by vast capital, accumulated through ages, the spoils of her own and other lands, by a trade system as powerful as it is relentless. All these nations will contest with you the other countries which they already overflow.

Does your mouth water over the prospect? What market do you give up for all this? Where is the best market in the world? Where the people have the most money to spend. Where have the people the most money to spend? Right here in the United States of America, after twenty-seven years of protectionist rule. And you are asked to give up such a market for the markets of the world! Why, the history of such a transaction was told twenty-four hundred years ago. It is a classic. You will find it in the works of Æsop, the fabulist.

Once there was a dog. He was a nice little dog. Nothing the matter with him except a few foolish free-trade ideas in his head. He was trotting along happy as the day, for he had in his mouth a nice shoulder of succulent mutton. By and by he came to a stream bridged by a plank. He trotted along, and, looking over the side of the plank, he saw the markets of the world and dived for them. A minute after he was crawling up the bank the wettest, the sickest [great laughter], the nastiest, the most muttonless dog that ever swam ashore. [Great laughter and applause.]

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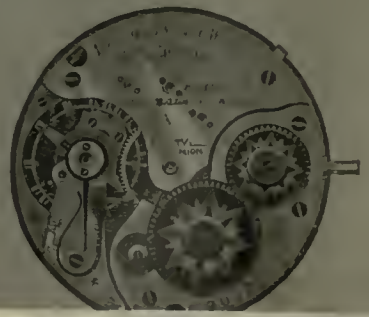

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